Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

SHELLFISH

227 *Tridacna* shellfish (*payua*) is obtained from the lagoon corals with the aid of a cutting implement (*hale payua* or *manuia payua*) of *ngangie* wood about 12 inches long. One end is a double-edged, pointed, sharpened blade (*hale*). The other end (*halehale*) is square and has a cutting edge on one side only. Between the two blades is a smooth section of wood used as a handle. Today a piece of iron with wood lashed along the median line is [283] preferred to the wooden implement. Both men and women procure *payua*. 226 Groups of girls or mixed parties of young men and girls go shellfishing together. An outrigger is often taken out from shore to act as a float.

By one method the fisherman dives for *payua* in deep water. He cuts the muscle-leaves on the two open half-shells with a twist of the *hale* blade of the knife to prevent the shell from closing. Then with the *halehale* blade he makes a circular sweep around both shells and severs the flesh from the shell. He brings the flesh to the surface, leaving the shell below the water. The flesh is placed in a basket tied to the outrigger float. Considerable skill is required to remove *Tridacna* meat with the implements in the time the fisherman can remain submerged.

Another way to procure *payua* is to swim or canoe out to the coral heads of the lagoon and pry (*nafenafe*) the shells from the coral with a digging stick. Today an iron crowbar is preferred for this work. The shells are loaded into the canoe and brought ashore, where the flesh is cut out with a *halehale* or knife. On coral heads in the lagoon close to Motu Ko are huge piles of *Tridacna* shells (*ngali payua*) which testify to the value placed on *payua* meat in past times.

226 The flesh of the pearl shell (*vasa ai*) is not eaten. The shells are grasped 321 in the hand and twisted so as to break off the tentacles anchoring the shell to the coral. Pearls were of no value when found inside the shell and were commonly thrown away.

The general name for clams is *pipi*. Various varieties are *pipi yeyenga*, *pipi hula*, *pipi tonga*, and *ngu*. They are not eaten but the shells were [413] formerly valued for cutting implements, coconut graters (for which the clam *ngu* was used), taro scrapers, and occasionally for lancets in surgery.

Periwinkles (*alili*) come over the reef in large quantities at the full of 226 the moon and are especially numerous during the time of the morning rising 262 of the Pleiades. They are collected on the reef by hand by children and adults and form an occasional article of diet, roasted in the shells. The flesh is pulled from the shell with the fingers or a pointed stick. Periwinkles are considered hard to eat and not very satisfying but pleasant enough for a change.

REEF CREATURES

136 Reef creatures found on Pukapuka but not eaten, though sometimes caught on other Polynesian islands for food, are sea porcupines, of which the Pukapukan names four: *matuke* (a blunt-spined sea porcupine); *vana* (a

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

839 married husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young men.
864 No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.
858 The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practises of, and attitudes to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of
154 children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field
883 records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically
661 expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of motifs, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[1]

V

121 Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapuka and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[2] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They related principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

178 [1] There are naturally occasional deviants who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case*
605 *History* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 135–43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up
582 that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal tapus, one situation alone was likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict tapu that formerly held between a man and his cousin-in-avoidance (females only). The tapu was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The functioning of this tapu and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the *Ethnology of Pukapuka* (pp. 259–63). This tapu is preserved today among old people. The young bother about it little. Among the younger generations several marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly tapu to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that causes ~~very~~ disapproval among the old.

[2] Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Methodological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Mi.,